

# LABOR ACTION

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN WORKERS PARTY

VOLUME 11, No. 20

New York, N. Y., Thursday, November 15, 1934.

Price 5 Cents

## March on Relief Agencies

### Party Convention Called; To Open Nov. 28, in N. Y.

#### National POC to Submit Proposals for Merger with CLA—Party Grew out of CPLA Activities

Delegates from New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, West Virginia, Mississippi, Ohio, Illinois, Missouri and California will attend the convention of the American Workers Party to be held in New York City on November 28-December 2. The official call sent out on behalf of the Provisional Organizing Committee by A. J. Muste, chairman, and Louis F. Budenz, secretary, is printed elsewhere in this issue.

The American Workers Party is the outgrowth of the work of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action which was organized in 1929. At the Pittsburgh convention of the CPLA in December of last year, it was decided that the time for building a new revolutionary party in the United States had come. Accordingly a provisional organizing committee was appointed to carry out the preliminary work and when this work was done to call a convention for the formal launching of the party.

#### Background of AWP

The CPLA had functioned for five years in the closest touch with workers and farmers in mass organizations. It had been intimately involved in the day to day struggles of these organizations. In the strike of textile workers in Marion, N. C., in 1929, where six mill-workers were killed on the picket line by sheriffs' deputies; the

strikes of miners in West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois and other states; the Paterson silk workers general strike of 1931; the amalgamation of the silk workers' unions and the building of an autonomous national federation of silk workers within the United Textile Workers of America; the launching of the first serious campaign for the organization of public utilities employes; organization campaigns and strikes of food, garment, steel and automobile workers—in these and many other struggles of workers, the C. P. L. A. through the national office or its branches or individual members played a prominent part.

It carried on a continuous and vigorous campaign for progressive and militant policies, against the prevailing A. F. of L. philosophy of collaboration with employers, and against autocracy, gangsterism, racketeering and allied evils where they appeared in the unions. CPLA forces were among the first to sense the importance of organizing the unemployed, the ineffectiveness of so-called barter organizations, the need for mass organizations in bringing pressure upon local, state and national authorities. It made an important contribution to the organization of the National Unemployed League formed at the great unemployed convention at Columbus, Ohio July 4, 1933. It has been a consistent advocate of sound and honest united front action among all elements in the labor movement.

#### Why The AWP

Devoted in the first instance to work on the economic field, the active membership of the CPLA became convinced that mass activity which did not proceed from a clear and correct theoretical viewpoint and which was not inspired and guided by an effective revolutionary political organization oriented toward the American problem and scene, would in the end prove fruitless. They were convinced, also, that "in the face of unparalleled opportunity and challenge, various political and theoretical organizations," specifically the Communist party and Socialist party, had failed to organize "an effective and satisfactory vanguard for American labor." Thus it was following out the logic of its own development when in Pittsburgh in December 1933 the C.P.L.A. decided to begin the work of building the American Workers Party.

Intensive activity has characterized the work of the party.

#### Celebrate Russian Triumph

NEW YORK.—Speaking at the celebration of the seventeenth anniversary of the Russian Revolution, held jointly by the American Workers Party and the Communist League of America, Max Schactman, editor of the New International, and A. J. Muste, chairman of the AWP, said that the only realistic way to celebrate the triumph of the Russian workers and defend the Soviet Union will be in America to build the new party.

The meeting, presided over by Oliver Carlson, was enthusiastic. The hall was packed.



### "Not to Death --But to Life"

TOLEDO, OHIO.—Protesting by a "death march" against exile by the city to the living death that awaits them in the community flop-house, known to the unemployed as Toledo's "Farewell House," more than 100 single men, most of them past 50, wrapped in tattered quilts against the cold and drinking hot coffee to keep going, continue their day and night demonstration in front of the Lucas County courthouse. The march which began November 1, under the banner of the Single Men's Protective Union, is aimed at the "Death of the Farewell House" and cash relief for the city's unemployed single men, estimated at 5,600.

Sam Pollock, leader of the march, said the men would not give in without a victory. Many of them are from the Community Welfare House.

#### March On To Life

Leaflets passed out by the marchers are headed "The living dead march on—not to death—but to life," and continue: "A flop-house to a down-and-outer is like condemned-row to a convict. It is the last stopping place for those whom our system casts off, where most of them board a non-stop express for final decay and death."

"Scarcely a week passes without some unfortunate is taken from the Farewell House in the little black wagon. The tragedy is that to the hundreds of unemployed

workers who have to enter the place, it seems at first to offer a measure of security and a rebirth of hope. Once a man enters, however, society casts him off. Gradually the unwholesome, demoralizing atmosphere grips him. His vitality seeps away. His will to live decently is crushed. He becomes a 'stiff.' Disease, rot-gut liquor and death are the finish.

"But these men were not born 'stiff.' Most of them are recent products of the depression. They have been caught between the wheels of a system that has first smashed them, then through the 'Farewell House' prepares them for death."

The statement is signed by the Lucas County Joint Action Committee on unemployment.

Thousands view the marchers from the courthouse and the streets as they walk slowly back and forth.

Organizations in the Joint Action Committee conducting the march include unemployed groups and unions. The demands call for abolition of the flop-house, \$5 per month for clothing, \$3.50 per week for food and \$8 per month for rent relief for the city's single men.

The "death march" leader, Sam Pollock, and his co-worker, Ted Selander, are members of the Lucas County Unemployed League and the American Workers Party.

LONG BEACH, MISS.—An Unemployed League unit of 200 members was formed here with Felton Ladner, of Gulfport, presiding. Officers elected were Peter Bass, president, Hocker Lundy, vice-president and W. A. Woodcock, secretary and treasurer.

### Action Call To Jobless; Nov. 24th

#### Organizations in 25 States To Mass—Liberties Union Pledges Aid

PITTSBURGH, PA.—The Call to Action for National Unemployed Day sets the time at ten o'clock, Saturday morning, November 24 when more than 1,000 units of 11 unemployed organizations will hold demonstrations before local relief agencies in 25 states.

Final plans, completed here by the Unemployed Day Action Committee, added to the seven demands adopted by a joint conference of the groups in Chicago on Sept. 15-16, a demand for a national 6-hour day.

The demands for relief include a demand that the government use the billions now being spent on war preparations to furnish a health-standard of living for all the unemployed.

#### Roosevelt to Get Demands

Following the handing of the demands to local relief authorities, a committee will present them to President Roosevelt in Washington on Nov. 26. It was pointed out by the unemployed leaders, however, that Roosevelt since taking office has never consented to receive a delegation from the ranks of the unemployed.

The demonstration as planned will be the largest yet in the United States by pressure organ-

(Continued on Page 3)

### W. Va. League Cleans House

CHARLESTON, W. VA. — One hundred delegates from various sections of West Virginia, gathered at the convention of the West Virginia Unemployed League on Saturday and Sunday, November 10 and 11, greeted Anthony Ramaglia, president of the National Unemployed League, with tremendous applause when he told of the preparations under way in 25 states for the National Unemployed demonstration November 24. The Delegates pledged that West Virginia would throw all its forces into the demonstration and recalled the great march of 25,000 miners into Logan County eight years ago.

Internal dissension, largely caused by efforts of relief authorities to buy off leaders of the leagues with jobs, had slowed up work in some counties. The rank and file of the leagues refused, however, to submit to these influences, carried forward organizing work, especially in Boone County where the most shocking conditions prevail, and insisted on a convention to straighten out the situation.

The convention addressed itself to this task. It elected new officers, and made plans for persistent organizing work and militant activity in the future. Officers elected include: President, F. West, Charleston; First Vice President, A. B. Riddle of Huntington; Second Vice President, Homer Tate, a colored unemployed league leader; Secretary-Treasurer, Hugh Fisher of Charleston, and an Executive Committee of 15 dependable fighters.

### Dyers Dispose of Thugs, Spies

#### By FELIX GIORDANO

PATERSON, N. J.—The strike of the dyers is three weeks old. Declared to achieve the 30-hour week, \$1 an hour and the closed shop, it still maintains its original militancy.

The morale of the strikers is higher than it was at the beginning of the strike. The dye houses in Paterson are shut tight as a drum in spite of the bosses' attempts to open them.

#### Thugs Escorted Out

There is practically no attempt at scabbing, for the dyers are a militant lot and they don't like the looks of scabs. In one shop, which had hired armed thugs to defeat the strike, the workers got sore and escorted them to the county line telling them to go . . . and keep going.

As in all strikes, there was no lack of labor spies. One of them was discovered when the strike was not a week old. He was exposed and was forced to leave town.

#### Board Pulls Its Tricks

The National Industrial Relations Board has naturally tried to pull some tricks, both old and new. First it tried a "truce" proposal, but the workers wouldn't bite. It then proposed that the workers go back to the shops while differences were being ironed out, but the workers wouldn't fall for that either.

The latest offer is a compromise settlement which would give the

(Continued on Page 8)

# A New Deal? Well, Maybe So— —But Hitchers Can't Find It

## They See Fascism in New Jersey and Talk to Sleepy Truck Drivers in Several States—On Way

By DAVE HARRIS

MENA, Ark.—We left New York on Columbus Day, October 12, hitching for Arizona. Luck is not so bad for a man and his wife, the truck-drivers are willing to help a fellow out, probably on account of their own oppressed and anxious living and working conditions. As some of the things we learned indicate, things are not all well in America.

We hit Newark, New Jersey, and the first thing we ran into was a big Columbus Day parade, always a holiday occasion for Italians. This one, like most of them in late years, was really an exhibition of the growing strength of fascism in the United States; American patriotic organizations joined with Italian in marching under the frankly displayed insignia of fascism.

Of about 5,000 in the parade, approximately 3,000 were in uniforms. The most prominent organization was the U. S. Fascisti. U. S. flags and the fascists' waved side by side and decorated many expensive floats. About 500 or 600 children from the age of 5 to 15 marched along giving the fascist salute. Two American Legion posts, with their two women's auxiliaries, helped show the American face of the Fascist movement.

The Italian outfits were the Garibaldi Society and the D'Annunzio Association, with their womenfolk; they all shouted for Roosevelt and Mussolini, whose pictures, with clasped hands, were on the floats. This was not unexpected, especially when it was remembered that the New York Times quoted Goebbels, Hitler's propaganda minister, as expressing pleasure that Roosevelt had borrowed the concentration camp idea from Germany, to use in the textile strike.

### American Contrasts

We stayed in Newark a few days and hitched to Daleville, Pennsylvania, a distance of 70 miles. In that distance we saw the most inconceivable contrasts, utter poverty and excessive riches. The region is one of mines. We saw men, women and children whose rags were too scant to hide their emaciated bodies. Starvation walks unchecked—unchecked by any agency, even Roosevelt's Harry (Humbug) Hopkins and his "relief"—in this district. Yet when we approached Daleville, we met limousines with befurred dowagers, we saw great houses of 20 and 30 rooms where we were told childless capitalists lived. (An example of what John L. Lewis, whose union is the strongest in Pennsylvania, has been doing for the miners!)

From Daleville we rode with a truck-driver to Athens. The truck-driver's name was Goldstein. He told us about his working conditions, and they were not what you would call bright. The NRA code calls for a 40-hour week and 60 cents an hour, but Goldstein was working all hours, seven days a week, with no provision given him for sleep. He sleeps on his truck and just sometimes he gets home to his wife and children. He gets \$16 a week. No overtime.

The code is openly flouted and the chiselers—if you can call people who mangle codes all to hell, chiselers—are unchecked and not even bothered with notices or investigators from Washington.

But Goldstein, sleepy-eyed and swindled, hangs on to this job desperately, for poverty is so prevalent in the region that there are men who would take his job for half of what he's getting!

### Talk About New Deal!

We rode with another driver who went from Sunday to Wednesday with only two hours of shut-eye, but his employer paid him \$20 a week. In Erie we found 35 percent of the population on relief. Talk about a New Deal! The

adults in this industrial city receive an average of 23 cents per person per day, the children receive 6 cents. And this must provide food, clothing, coal and everything. A man, a riveter, who used to earn \$12 a day, now works two days a week 10 hours a day, for which he receives \$11.20. The code? There is no attempt to enforce the code, he told us. And the men are afraid of losing their jobs for there are thousands waiting to work at any price.

The picture is the same throughout the country. In Cincinnati we found breadlines and at the FERA Bureau we contacted two bowls of oatmeal which had more flies and specks than oats. We won't bother to give our impression of the social workers. But a good word for Miss Hany in Bentonville, Ark., and for the relief administrator in Joplin, Mo. They towered higher than a church spire above the average!

And talking about churches—we saw plenty of churches. There was so much poverty we couldn't help seeing the churches.

We had hardships catching a ride in one town and we knocked at a farm-house door for lodgings. We got the shock of our lives. Upon being admitted to the home and asking the farmer for lodgings for the wife and myself I let fall a chance remark. I said, "This must be a christian home."

Whereupon Mr. Jones, our host, growled, "Hell, no, it's socialistic."

We found comrade Jones was a former member of the S.P. who had become disgusted with the party's reformism and is now unattached. He had organized Scott county workers and farmers into "The Workingmen and Farmers of Scott County." He understood the class struggle and wanted to associate the organization with the National Unemployed League. He vouched a desire to join the American Workers Party and I promised to send him the next three issues of LABOR ACTION.

This is being written at the labor school, Commonwealth College, Mena, Ark. We will remain here for a few days and then head on for Arizona. Of the 35 students and faculty members here, most of them are CP or SP, with the CP having a considerable edge; some are unattached. The faculty is predominantly CP and some of the SP students have refused to attend classes, demanding a better representation of Marxian ideology. I am telling them about the AWP and giving them a picture of America.

## Sixteen Arrested in Allentown As Labor Defies Picket Ban

ALLENTOWN, PA.—Police and pickets came to blows as more than 600 workers in an orderly picket-line defied Mayor Fred Lewis' unlawful proclamation limiting pickets to 10 employees of the plant on strike. As a result 18 workers have been arrested and arraigned on charges of "exceeding the pickets," "disorderly conduct," "inciting to riot," and "unlawful assemblage." This battle came as a climax to the fight against the Mayor's proclamation initiated by the Lehigh County Unemployed League immediately after the edict was issued. The entry of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the American Civil Liberties Union into the fray brought it to a head.

The fracas with the police followed disturbances when the Freezer Shirt Factory resumed operations as a non-union shop after a lockout lasting three months. It was at this shop in 1933 that child labor and sweatshop conditions were fought and abolished by mass picketlines. Last July the factory closed when workers, organized into the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, protested the attempts of the officials to form a company union called "The Morris Freezer Social Club."

The shop attempted to open on Oct. 22 with scab labor, and many police were at hand to protect Mr. Freezer's scabs and property, in spite of the fact that he is Allentown's No. 1 chiseler and code violator. Under orders to arrest any leaders or organizers who appeared, the police arrested Bill Reich, educational director of the Unemployed League as soon as he appeared. A few minutes later Larry Heimbach, president of the PUL and organizer for the ACW was arrested.

To protest these arrests and the Mayor's proclamation, a picket-line of 600 members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, The Lehigh County Unemployed League and the American Federation of Silk Workers was formed on the following day. With signs, banners and flags, the colorful line marched on the Freezer factory. As the line neared the mill, 40 or more cops, several of whom were drunk, attacked the workers, slugging them ruthlessly. Sixteen were arrested and sent to jail.

After several futile attempts to picket the factory, the long line marched to the city hall. A huge cordon of police was thrown around the building. Witnesses were not permitted to enter the building where hearings were taking place. Isadore Katz, the American Civil Liberties lawyer, who was repre-

sented the arrested persons, was manhandled by the police as he attempted to reach the courtroom.

Katz charged the Allentown police court with four specific violations of the law governing the conduct of trials: police were permitted to testify without taking an oath, thus freeing them of perjury charges; Police Commissioner Beary was permitted to dominate the courtroom and to testify to matters not of his personal knowledge; exorbitant and excessive sentences were meted to defendants, and sentences were passed before the transcript of the proceedings was properly certified.

The American Civil Liberties Union is also protesting the Mayor's proclamation and will take court action against it.

In answer to charges of police brutality and terrorism against peaceful pickets, Police-Commissioner Beary replied:

"A fire department cannot wait until flames shoot through the roof before attempting to subdue it, and by the same token we cannot wait until some of the radical element breaks into serious action before taking a hand."

Resentment runs high among the workers of Allentown. Two gigantic mass meetings were held protesting the proclamation and the terrorism of the police. Four bottles of yellow paint were thrown through the windows of Mayor Lewis' home spattering expensive oriental rugs and doing \$1,000 damage. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers charge that this act of vandalism is a deliberate "plant" to discredit organized labor.

The local yellow press is frantic because of the militancy of the workers. Hysterical headlines across the entire front page blurt: REDS SUSPECTED OF DESPOILING MAYOR'S HOME! and OUTSIDE AGITATORS SUCCESSFULLY RESISTED BY POLICE. Workers are planning to take libel action against such statements as: "Heimbach (president of the PUL) and his nest of idlers won't work. Given a job they couldn't do it satisfactorily. They prefer to act the part of leeches and take it out of the sweat and pay envelopes of working girls." And "The police are entirely too lenient with this crowd of chiselers on the laboring class. They should bring down their shillalaha on the heads of these outsiders with a great deal more severity."

All the cases against the arrested pickets were appealed except that of Heimbach. He elected to remain in jail and was removed on a writ of habeas corpus.

## IN THE UNIONS

By KARL LORE

This has been a bad year for the crystal gazers of the Communist Party. In one field after the other they have been ineffective, have been shown up to be jackasses. The cruel hard facts have caused one cherished belief after another to find its mournful way into the waste basket.

Some years ago the Communist International decided that the thing to do was to leave the old mass organizations of the workers and build new "revolutionary unions" in the basic industries. They pointed out—and rightfully—that the A. F. of L. was not doing the job and that militants were being expelled on all sides. What was necessary, therefore, they concluded, was a new trade union center, perfectly kosher in all respects, with a correct leadership and line.

The Trade Union Educational League was reorganized into the Trade Union Unity League and the merry hunt began for members to put into the new paper unions which were brought into being. In every industry in which the C.P. had three men and a dog, an industrial union was built. Mimeograph machines began turning, manifestos poured forth and the new unionism set forth to conquer the world.

But the workers—damn 'em—would have nothing to do with the new organizations which the C.P. dangled before their noses. When the T.U.U.L. did lead a strike they were never able to maintain an organization to continue after the fight was over. The industrial unions were intensely sectarian. Woe to the poor Trotskyite or Lovestonite who tried to function in their ranks.

### Disruption

The C.P. unions were disruptive forces in the trade union movement. Instead of raising the banner of unity, they created splits wherever they could and tried to use the splinters as foundations for new unions. The Amalgamated Food Workers for example, was torn apart in the most criminal fashion. In the steel industry the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union, instead of tackling the many unorganized steel centers, made its chief point of attack at Warren and Niles, Ohio, where strong and relatively progressive locals of the Amalgamated Association existed. In textiles the National Textile Workers divided the ranks, resorted to the worst kind of slander and disruption against efforts to organize on the part of any other group. It would be possible to call the roll and find evidences in any and every industry of the rotten part played by the fake unions of the C.P.

### Reform

It was always a crazy policy but the developments of the past year have shown them up still further. The flood of members into the A. F. of L., the "company union" as they called it, has forced even the granitelike intelligences of the C.P. leadership to see that something was wrong. And now we hear a great deal about a change in policy on their part, that they have seen the error of their ways and are prepared to take their stand again with the organized workers in the genuine organizations of labor. The National Textile Workers has given up its local in Paterson and has sent its members into the American Federation of Silk Workers. The dress makers of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union are proposing unity to the officials of the International Ladies Gar-

ment Workers.

First it should be noted, that it is no trick to give up something that you haven't got. Both dress-makers and textile workers have been conspicuously absent from the T.U.U.L. ranks for a long time. To ask, therefore, for credit because you give up something that you never had, is to strain the point considerably. One swallow doesn't make a summer. To send a few workers into a couple of A. F. of L. locals in those places where the party policy has fallen down so badly that there is no further chance to cover its bankruptcy is one thing. To face the issue courageously, to recognize the trend of the times and to swallow the pill, bitter though it may be, is another. It is a fundamental change in basic policy that is needed here. And the C.P. hasn't got the guts to make that change.

The C.P. will have to give more evidence than it has offered so far if it wants to be trusted by the militant elements in the unions. How can the silk workers of Paterson, for example, believe that the C.P. is out for the best interests of the American Federation of Silk Workers, if the C.P. maintains the National Textile Workers Union? Have they not a perfect right to regard this latest move on the part of the NTW as a maneuver intended to entrench them in the union so they can later split off a chunk to affiliate again to the N.T.W.? It wouldn't be the first time that such a tactic has been followed. If a National organization is worth anything at all it is worth maintaining everywhere. If it should be given up in one place, why not in every place!

The same situation exists in the needle trades. The dressmakers of the C.P. go into the International Ladies Garment Workers. The rest of the needle trades groups maintain a separate existence!

How about the other industries? The Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union is a joke, the National Miners Union is a farce, and the whole kit and caboodle of them all put together have a hard job paying Jack Stachel's salary as secretary. But they are still kept alive with offices, organizers, and the ever present mimeograph machine.

We can still remember the recent mammoth flop of the Marine Workers Industrial Union and its ludicrous attempts to pull off a general strike. But there's no use in continuing the sorry story. The whole elaborate structure of the T.U.U.L. has fallen like a house of cards about the ears of the C.P. master minds.

Speak well of the dead. The T.U.U.L. led militant fights in a number of industries. Its organizers were, in many instances, courageous and revolutionary fighters. But its crazy line, its sectarian and unrealistic policy, its complete and absolute domination by the high moguls of the Communist Party and the Third International brought all its accomplishments to naught. The revolutionary unions did not grow and could not grow. They only served to sow confusion and demoralization in the organized labor movement. They separated the militants from the mass of the rank and file. They set back the development of a real progressive movement among the trade unionists of America.

Will they change? A jackass may get rid of his skin, even conceivably of his ears and tail. But he will still value the tone and strength of his bray far more than the keenness of his mind.

## BOOKS

Bought and Sold  
Large Selection of Revolutionary Literature

Books by

LEON TROTSKY

Write for Price List

PIONEER BOOKSHOP

102 East 11th Street, New York City

# Unemployed Leagues Get Set for National Demonstrations

## Ready to Get Into Action Before Relief Agencies in Many States

ARE IN FIGHTING SHAPE, LEADERS SAY

Militant Action Prepares Way for Giant Turn-Out—Reports from Organizers in the Field—Truax Whips up Preparations in Ohio

(Special to LABOR ACTION) COLUMBUS, OHIO.—Bill Truax has been whipping up preparations for the national demonstration through the Ohio Unemployed League paper, Freedom's Call.

"All the Ohio Leagues are expected to demonstrate," Truax who is president of the Ohio organization, said.

"The unemployed will meet the recent slates in relief in the widest wave of action the state has seen. We are fed up on promises and half measures.

"Every league we hear from is ready to go into action at 10 o'clock Saturday morning."

Preparations for the November 24 demonstrations are being made through the league paper and by concrete action in the localities, Truax pointed out.

In a recent fight for more relief in Logan county the unemployed threw the relief administrator in a creek. In Portage county relief workers went on strike demanding a new relief set-up. Workers on the Alum Creek project in Franklin county struck against slave driving tactics. In Athens county the unemployed have imprisoned their relief administrators on three occasions in the past year.

Eastern Ohio, according to V. C. Bauhof, is preparing for demonstrations in all parts.

Single men in Toledo are carrying on a death march to get relief.

### MINERS WHO IMPRISONED RELIEF STAFF ARE READY

ATHENS, OHIO.—Miners, women and children in Hocking Valley will assemble at the relief headquarters in Athens on November 24 to lay before the agency the demands of the unemployed.

The action follows the fight here some weeks ago when 300 families were cut off relief and 750 members of the Athens County Unemployed League bottled up the entire relief administration staff, blocked the doorways and surrounded the building. Frantic calls to Columbus brought four special relief officials to the scene.

The league men sent word up the valley for comrades and more than 1,000 miners and their wives arrived. The four agents from Columbus were bottled up with the others and kept in the building all night. At 4:30 in the morning the entire crowd, amounting to about 2,000 persons, got relief orders and the 300 families were put back on relief.

This was the third time the Athens County League had imprisoned the relief administrator and his staff in the past year.

Ed Michael, district vice-president of the Ohio Unemployed League, husky miner and farmer, said the Athens League has been put in shape for the November demonstration by many battles.

### "PITTSBURGH WILL BE THERE WITH RATTLESNAKE FLYING"

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—The Allegheny County Division of the Pennsylvania Unemployed League is mobilizing its forces for a mighty demonstration on Saturday, November 24 at all relief units and the office of the Relief board. When interviewed Frank Irvin, chairman of the PUL in Allegheny County, said, "The PUL will be there with the rattle snake banner flying.

"Our locals have voted unanimously to go in this national demonstration. At ten o'clock we will march on the relief units and the office of the relief board. We have a tough problem here now

since the Public Relations Office has been set up. This is a central complaint bureau organized on similar lines to the Chicago central grievance bureau that has proved such a fizzle.

"According to the set-up of the Public Relations Office committees from the leagues are no longer permitted to go into the relief units and argue cases for the unemployed. The unemployed can go in individually but their representatives cannot speak for them.

"The PUL has told the Board that we will not abide by this decision. It is a scheme to destroy the unemployed leagues.

"We expect skirmishes before the 24th. The Board has placed a policeman in each relief unit. These demonstrations against the PRO will be preparation for the big day November 24.

"The Unemployed Citizens League will demonstrate with us and plans are made to rally many employed and unemployed workers who are not in the PUL."

### LABOR UNIONS JOIN LEAGUE IN ALLENTOWN FIGHT

ALLENTOWN, Pa.—On November 24 Allentown will see one of the biggest turn-outs in its history, Ed Moser, League leader, said.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the American Federation of Silk Workers, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and other workers' organizations have formed a united action committee with the leagues to rally the forces of labor in the National Unemployed Day Demonstration.

The militancy of labor has been spurred on by the recent arrests of Larry Heimbach, president of the Pennsylvania Unemployed League, and Bill Reich, league educational director, for defying Mayor Lewis's edict limiting picketing in the city to ten pickets, Moser pointed out. The arrests followed the entrance of the league on the picket line of the strike at the Morris Freezer shirt plant.

### BETHLEHEM WORKERS TO DEFY DEMONSTRATION BAN

BETHLEHEM, Pa.—The mayor of this steel-owned town has forbidden demonstrations.

The mayor has been defied once and he will be defied on November 24, judging by preparations being made for the demonstration. Recently 1,000 men and women assembled at relief headquarters in violation of the mayor's edict and demanded the removal of Kelsey, tri-county relief director. A delegation of the unemployed went into the office and forced Kelsey to come out and face the crowd. He admitted that he was incompetent as relief administrator.

The November 24 demonstration will climax the action aimed at Kelsey's removal.

### JERSEY UNION AFFILIATES WITH NATIONAL LEAGUE

WASHINGTON, N. J.—Inspired by the leadership given the unemployed in nearby Pennsylvania the Warren County Unemployed Union of Washington and Alpha voted for affiliation with the National Unemployed League at meetings held November 5.

Mass meetings to attract new members and consolidate the Union for Unemployed Day will be held in the towns on November 19 and 20 respectively. Plans are made to build a stronger county organization and extend NUL affiliates to surrounding counties.

Delegates from the Union sit as fraternal delegates on the Central Trades and Labor Council in Easton.

Frank Keenan, of Washington, and Lawrence Tersigni, of Alpha, spoke in favor of the NUL to the organizations they head. Warren Montross of the executive committee of the National League is working through New Jersey.

### ARNOLD JOHNSON TO BE IN NORTH CAROLINA

HIGHPOINT, N. C.—Bill Presswood, president of the North Carolina Unemployed League, predicted a big turn out here on November 24.

"Following on the heels of the textile strike in which the unemployed took part in the flying squadrons that closed the mills, the demonstration couldn't happen at a better time," Presswood said.

Arnold Johnson, National League secretary, is slated to be here for the demonstration.

### Jobless Action Call

(Continued from Page 1)

izations. The Call to Action was signed by the National Unemployed League, Illinois Workers Alliance, Eastern Federation of Unemployed and Emergency Workers, Minnesota Central Council of Workers, Missouri, Kansas and Arkansas Workers Committees, Florida Federation of Unemployed Leagues, Wisconsin Federation of Unemployed, Texas Central Council of Workers, Fort Wayne Indiana Unemployed Leagues.

The demonstration will dramatize the war on low relief and insecurity under the New Deal and capitalism, leaders of the movement said.

"We Have No Illusions" "We have no illusions about President Roosevelt and the government," Anthony Ramuglia, president of the National Unemployed League, stated.

"Our Action Committee regards as vicious and absurd the government's attitude that unemployment is any longer an emergency, a temporary blight, to be met by scant condescending relief programs. The unemployed know that large scale unemployment is now a permanent feature of our profit economic system, and we propose by mass protest to shatter some of the government's illusions about the everlasting patience of the unemployed. We say, 'Give us our demands!'"

Sees Unified Movement The pressure movement has passed its infantile stage of seeking another potato from local agencies and is about to emerge as a movement of national scope and power. The fundamental issue of unemployment is being raised.

"More than anything else that's what the great Nov. 24 demonstration will mean. A unified movement is being shaped by action and is rising to a fighting posture," Ramuglia declared.

In instructions to the 1,000 odd units of the 11 organizations, they were directed to put all energy into mobilizing and putting forward their demands, including parades to the relief agencies and wires to President Roosevelt.

Civil Liberties To Aid The American Civil Liberties Union informed the Action Committee that it will aid the demonstrators in cases of police suppression of civil rights. The Union will seek to have police cooperate in the prevention of clashes by remaining away from the demonstrations.

"The Action Committee does not assume that this request will be complied with," Arnold Johnson, secretary of the National Unemployed League, said.

"Over-zealous police officials will provoke trouble in places, undoubtedly. Some of them can be expected to act as if the jobless are criminals or sacking bands, to be rounded up by police.

"They are organized citizens, damned tired of handouts, it's true,

## Relief Head Sees Brick Pile - Writes 500 Food Orders

HIS WRISTS CRAMP BUT ALAS—

They Won't Let Him Stop—Kentucky League Had Found Administrators Writing Vouchers to Dead Men and Cashing Them Too—27 Are Ousted

ASHLAND, KY.—A mass meeting of the Ashland Unemployed League at which Anthony Ramuglia and Arnold Johnson spoke was followed next morning by a mass meeting of 500 who found the doors of the relief agency closed against them.

The angry crowd demanded relief orders for the week-end. A pile of bricks was discovered in the street, just in front of the relief office.

"Wonder where that come from," said one of the men.

The relief administrator looked out the window and saw the brick pile which had got there during the night. He sent for the leaders of the men.

"We want relief orders, that's all we have to say," the leaders explained.

The administrator sat down and began writing. He wrote till 4:30. He decided to call it a day. His wrist was cramping. The 20 men who had not yet received orders would have to wait.

"Nothing doing," said Porter, president of the league. "We stay

here till every man gets his orders."

Administrator Meeks sat down and meekly wrote out 20 more.

This was the second demonstration in the month. The first one was carried on by the Catlettsburg League. The two leagues have exposed corruption and graft in relief.

They raised such a howl that federal and state investigators came in and discovered that \$6,000 a month was being distributed and \$2,300 a month was being paid in salaries to relief administrators, plus expenses. Vouchers were being made out to dead people and unknown people and cashed by the relief agents.

Through the action of the leagues 27 out of 30 of the agents were suspended.

Threats of criminal indictments have been made but ex-U. S. Senator Williamson is the big political boss here. Indictments are unlikely.

This section of the Kentucky Unemployed League is expected to demonstrate with a vengeance.

## 50 Declare Hunger Strike Around Texas State Capitol

By CARL BRANNIN

AUSTIN, TEXAS: Goaded to desperation by the callous indifference of relief authorities in Travis County 50 men, women and children of white, Negro and Mexican races have taken their stand in and around the state capitol here pledged to starve until they are provided with sufficient food by the relief setup.

This hunger strike has been precipitated by the striking from relief rolls of more than 250 families within the past two weeks. Mrs. S. H. Thompson, head of a family of five, with an allotment of \$5.60 per month was elected leader. Among the group was W. H. Roberts, local unemployed organizer, who said that although he was not on relief he had joined the party as a sympathizer.

A week ago a smaller group staged a hunger strike for one day but disbanded when a member

elect of the house of representatives promised to intervene in their behalf. A few days previous a large number of Austin unemployed had filled the state capitol during the session of the legislature with banners and placards demanding action for adequate relief by the law makers. Spokesmen for the unemployed addressed the house.

Governor Ferguson has stated that relief appropriations should be increased but thus far the legislature has refused to act. In Dallas County the unemployed are forced to live on less than 11 cents per person per day for food alone. In other counties it is less. No provision is made for rent, water, lights, gas, clothing and medical service.

Demonstrations will be held in various Texas cities on November 24, the date of the nation-wide unemployed demonstrations for work or adequate relief grants.

### STRAWBERRY CROP IN FLORIDA

Lakeland, Florida.

We have heard plenty of complaints that workers in some chiselling industries have to work several hours after they have punched out on the time clock. But here is the way the same system is worked on school teachers down here.

We have what are called strawberry schools. Regular public schools they are, but the term is from May to December, the children attending through all the hot Florida summer in order to be released in the winter to pick strawberries for the northern luxury market. The strawberry schools are always the step-children of the school system, and seldom is there money enough for a full term.

Finances have run out again

Many of us are fed up with seeing the government billions passed out to the bankers and the war-makers. But we have no money to maintain a lobby in Washington, to buy legislatures. We cannot bribe and coerce as the bankers can and do."

this year at the end of the fifth month. So what to do? The county school board says the teachers should decide for themselves whether they shall quit now, or continue to teach for three months for nothing on the chance that the FERA will somehow do something about it later. The board acknowledges there is little likelihood of there being any government help. Of course, the teachers don't have to teach without pay but—and here's the trick—the board promises that any who do teach will be assured of re-election for next year.

The same Florida paper that records this carries an account of the extra riot training and bayonet drill which is being given the local National Guardsmen, mindful of the great service the Guardsmen have rendered in other states recently.

And a few days before there was a news story of some convicts in Orange County, Florida, who had refused to go to work. So gas bombs were thrown into the cages on wheels in which convicts in the county camps are locked up at night, and one man died.

**LABOR ACTION**

With which is merged  
LABOR AGE

Published on the first and fifteenth of each month  
by the  
CONFERENCE FOR PROGRESSIVE  
LABOR ACTION  
112 East 19th Street, New York City

Subscription Rates:  
In the United States \$1.00 per year.  
3 month trial sub 25 cents  
Canada and Foreign \$1.50 per year

Editor: HARRY A. HOWE  
Circulation Mgr.: CARA COOK

Entered as second class matter March 26, 1934 at  
the Post Office at New York City under the act of  
March 3, 1879.

Organ of the  
AMERICAN WORKERS PARTY

**WORKERS OF THE U.S.S.R.**

SEVENTEEN years ago, this month, the workers and peasants of Czarist Russia kicked out their oppressors and took over the country for themselves. By this act 160 million people were freed from the cruel domination of an exploiting class and for the first time in history a government of, by and for the workers was established.

Immediately the ruling classes in other countries and their governments set up a terrible howl of rage and fright. Sensing their own doom in the courageous action of the Russian masses, the exploiters and their lackeys throughout the world did and are still doing everything in their power to destroy and discredit the workers republic. First by direct armed attack and, when this failed, by a campaign of lies and slander never equalled in history the capitalist have fought the Soviet Union.

But in spite of these attacks the workers state has survived and progressed. Before the revolution the most backward country in Europe, a country in which mass poverty and unemployment were a regular part of the scheme of things, Soviet Russia is today the only country in the world in which unemployment has been practically banished. Whereas in every capitalist country the conditions of the masses of the people become progressively worse, in the USSR they become progressively better.

This does not mean that socialism has been established in Russia yet. It does not mean that there is no suffering in the USSR today: that every worker has everything he wants—or needs. It does mean, however, that compared with his condition seventeen years ago the worker in the Soviet Union is well off today. He has more food, more clothing, a better place in which to live—and he has a sense of security, possessed by the worker of no other country, a knowledge that in his old age he will not be thrown on to the streets to beg.

Thus, under the greatest handicaps, the first workers' state advances. In a world of growing reaction and disintegration it is the one bright spot today: the beacon light of inspiration to all the oppressed peoples of the earth.

But the USSR is not out of danger yet. Its enemies still exist. Are still powerful. And it will not be out of danger until these enemies are destroyed.

These enemies of the Soviet Union are the enemies of the workers everywhere, the capitalists and their governments. It is our job, the job of the workers of all countries, to fight them.

The workers and peasants of the USSR have pointed the way. Seventeen years ago they kicked out their oppressors. But the job which they begun will not be completed—cannot be—until workers governments are established in all countries. To accomplish this we must build a powerful labor movement—a powerful revolutionary party.

## Official Convention Call of the American Workers Party

New York City, November 28—December 2, 1934

The Provisional Organizing Committee of the American Workers Party, in accordance with the powers vested in it, hereby officially calls the convention of the A.W.P. to meet in New York City at 10:00 A. M. November 28, 1934.

The Pittsburgh convention of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, held in December, 1933, decided to begin the work of organizing a new revolutionary party in the United States. A Provisional Organizing Committee was there appointed to take charge of the preliminary work, and this work having been completed, to call a convention for the formal launching of the party. It was agreed that some months would be required for this preliminary work. The present year has been one of mighty economic struggles which have largely absorbed the energies of our membership. The year has also seen rapid changes on the political field both nationally and internationally, which had a bearing upon the development of the party. The time for the formal launching of the new party has now come!

The purpose of the convention will be to carry out this task and to transact all other business which may properly come before it.

New forces are rallying to the idea of the New Party and the New International. The POC will submit to the convention the report of merger negotiations with the Communist League of America, which is also holding its convention in New York during the week of November 28. The POC report will include a plan for meeting in joint convention for the formal launching of the New Party while the two groups of delegates are still in New York, if the merger is approved by both organizations.

Any individuals or groups not now connected with the A.W.P. who are interested in the building of the New Party and the New International are cordially urged to correspond with the national office of the A.W.P. regarding the convention.

A great responsibility rests upon us. A great opportunity awaits us. In many capitalist nations the forces of reaction and Fascism are forcing Labor to retreat; in some they have almost completely destroyed the labor and farmer movement. The existing Parties and Internationals have proved unfitted to organize the workers for defense, much less to lead them to a new social order. In the United States the masses are in motion. One great strike struggle follows on the heels of another. Nevertheless here also the forces of reaction are organizing. There is no effectively organized progressive-left wing in the trade unions. Many strikes have been prevented. In no instance have the workers gained what might have been achieved if there had been a unified revolutionary leadership. The battle for union recognition in the basic industries has not yet been fought out. Whether we look to the economic or the political field, to the national or the international scene, the need for the New Party and the New International is clear.

Our party has done important work during the past year. Much more must be done. The crisis permits no delay. Let us rally all our forces for the epoch-making convention on November 28. Let us work with all the intelligence, courage and strength we can muster for the launching of the New Party! For revolutionary unity! For a workers world!

For the Provisional Organizing Committee, A.W.P.  
A. J. MUSTE, Chairman  
LOUIS F. BUDENZ, Secretary

**THE NEW DEAL IN OHIO**

Including New Mattresses—Fascists—Bill Green's "Local"—Class Marriage and the Onion Fields

How are the workers faring under this second year of the "new deal"? What are their reactions to the recovery program? Are the forces of reaction gaining headway? Are the organizations of the workers growing?—This is the second of a series of articles dealing with these and other questions on the American scene by Comrade Breier who is just back from a six weeks trip across the country.

By LOUIS BREIER

COLUMBUS, OHIO.—The Americaners, operating throughout Central Ohio with headquarters in Columbus, are devoted to "preserving American institutions" and to "stamping out avowed and disguised Communists." As an initial step to this end, the organization has prepared a secret "Black list" which probably contains the names of every radical from Hamilton Fish up to Mickey Mouse.

In a statement to the Columbus Sunday Star, Capt. John E. Wright, president of the Americaners, announced a campaign against Israel Amter, secretary of the National Unemployment Councils; Janie Langston, Negro, Communist candidate for Lieutenant-governor in Ohio; and several Ohio State University professors whom he did not name.

In addition to Capt. Wright, officers of the Americaners are: Capt. R. L. Gneisser, Cleveland; Robert Kingsley and Gertrude H. Hardin, jr. Wright was a Department of Justice agent during the war.

**The Ohio Plan**

Upton Sinclair's EPIC plan is already partially operating in Ohio where the unemployed are being put to work in government-reclaimed factories making commodities for their own use. These commodities include work-pants, shoes, dresses and mattresses.

Described by its director as "economically impossible," the plan is nevertheless being pushed with as much force as ballyhoo and watered statistics can give it. Some Ohio Socialists are hailing it as a significant step towards a "planned economy" and the "Socialization of industry."

In this, the Socialists are ably seconded by the industrialists and merchants who also see in the Ohio plan an insidious attempt to confiscate private property and to undermine profits. Assurances of the Plan directors, that no such infringement of property rights is contemplated, does not convince. The wailing increases.

One manufacturer of mattresses was especially bitter in his opposition to the Plan. Government competition in the manufacture of mattresses was ruining not only himself but the entire industry, he claimed. In allaying his fears the Board pointed out that these government-made mattresses were being distributed among people who never slept on a mattress before in all their lives. This would make them mattress-conscious and when prosperity returned the regular manufacturers would have the benefit of a new market. "Yes," replied the manufacturer with fine scorn, "but I have examined your mattresses and the way you are making them now they will last a life-time!"

The Board will probably remedy that in short time.

**Bill Green's Local**

The President of the American Federation of Labor holds a card in a mine local near Columbus. He is one half of the membership, the other half being John Saxton, generally recognized as a Lewis lieutenant in the UMWA.

The mine served by this local has been out of operation for 13 years and a fine elm tree has grown right in front of the mine mouth.

**Class Marriage**

The class-collaboration policy of the AF of L brand of unionism has been carried a step further by a local of the Typographical Union

in Columbus, Ohio. Acting on a tactic that may best be described as a sort of Class-marriage, this union has joined the Chamber of Commerce and regularly pays dues to that body. This union is among the most vehement of those who have elected to carry out Green's red-baiting campaign orders.

**Particularism in the Onion Fields**

Onion strikers in the notorious Hardin County onion marshes are being sacrificed on the altar of Socialist particularism. Determined to liberate the workers without any "outside" help, Socialists of Toledo have consistently ignored all offers of aid from the Civil Liberties Union in raising bond for strike leaders and militant strikers now spending their eighth week in the county jail.

Okey O'Dell, leader of the strike, was forced to spend a week in jail because his Socialist "allies" would neither appeal to the Civil Liberties Union nor accept help from Sam Pollock, militant leader of the unemployed in Northwestern Ohio and member of the Toledo branch of the AWP. Pollock was jailed in Kenton while organizing picket lines but was freed at the time that O'Dell was taken into custody. Pollock's bond was sufficient to cover O'Dell, but the Socialists waited a week before, in their desperation, they allowed Pollock to transfer his bond to O'Dell.

Several strikers, now in jail, are being quite unnecessarily obliged to cool their heels while their children starve because the Socialists insist on raising bond money through their own efforts rather than let the Civil Liberties Union or any other organization poach on their publicity. One of the methods for raising this money is taking collections at meetings of the onion strikers! One may as well attempt to squeeze radium out of sawdust! Money raising among sympathetic Socialist and trade union organizations was badly handicapped when it was discovered that the chief collector, Joseph Walton, was not applying any of these funds to the onion strike. Walton was fired out of the SP and since then a signal victory was achieved when the Toledo Central Trades Council voted to "morally" encourage the strike. This morality isn't bringing a penny into the situation, although the Toledo trade unions have plenty of money in their treasuries.

Meanwhile the land bosses are continuing their drive against the strikers, aided by the relief director and all the solid citizenry of the surrounding towns. It is to be earnestly hoped that the Socialist Party will allow the strike leaders to be released within the near future in order to rally the union.

**NEW YORK LABOR ACTION SCHOOL**  
Sunday Evening Forum  
112 E. 19th Street

Nov. 18—Warren Montross, "Twilight of the Scab."  
Nov. 25—Tom Tippet, "The Theatre as a Social Weapon."  
Dec. 2—Herbert Solow, "Workers' Defense and the Class War."

Lectures begin at 8:30 P. M.  
Admission 15 cents

**NEW YORK LABOR ACTION SCHOOL**

Offers three timely classes, each Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, beginning November 8, for six weeks from 8 to 9:30 p. m., Room 702, 112 East 19th Street.

1. AMERICAN TRADE UNIONISM SINCE THE WORLD WAR  
Wednesdays A. J. Muste
2. DECLINE OF AMERICAN CAPITALISM  
Thursdays O. Carlson
3. PUBLIC SPEAKING AND PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE  
Fridays Walter Peck

**AWP Convention in N. Y.  
Nov. 28-Dec. 2**

(Continued from Page 1)

terized the A.W.P. during the past year. New branches have been formed and their work systematized. The party and its members have played an important part in the unemployed work and in many union struggles. The work of clarifying the party's theoretical position has gone forward in labor Action, in the pamphlet TOWARD AN AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY LABOR MOVEMENT published in January of this year, and the Revised Programmatic Statement issued during the summer.

**The Next Steps**

A new and promising turn has been given to the proposed formal launching of the party at the forthcoming convention, and intense interest has been aroused in all sections of the labor movement by the progress made in merger negotiations which have been going on between the POC of the AWP and the National Committee of the Communist League of America. At a meeting of the POC, just held, a full report was made by the Negotiating Committee and all angles of the question were thoroughly discussed. The POC

thereupon, without a dissenting vote, expressed confidence in the Negotiating Committee and directed it to carry forward its discussions both as to program and as to organizational aspects of the proposed merger.

The POC will present the merger proposals to the forthcoming convention, together with a plan for meeting in joint convention with the C.L.A. delegates who are also convening in New York City during the week of November 28, if the separate conventions ratify the merger negotiations.

"Unity on a firm principled basis of the forces which have written labor history at Toledo and at Minneapolis must be achieved," according to the POC. "This will result in the attraction of other groups and of thousands of now scattered revolutionary militants. It will constitute the actual launching of the new revolutionary party in the United States. It will mark the end of the era of splits and open the era of revolutionary unity."

**READ  
LABOR ACTION  
JOIN THE  
AMERICAN WORKERS  
PARTY**

**W. Va. Party Branch  
Holds Mass Meeting**

(Special Correspondence)

CHARLESTON, W. VA.—Workers among whom agents of employers and of the old political parties had spread all kinds of rumors about the AWP got the party's answer at a mass meeting under the auspices of the West Virginia branch which filled the largest chamber in the Kanawaha County Court House on November 9. B. A. Scott, party organizer for West Virginia, acted as chairman, and National Chairman A. J. Muste made the principal address. Special emphasis was placed by Muste on the role of the AWP in mass organizations, unions and unemployed leagues.

"The A.W.P. does not undertake to dictate to unions or leagues" said Muste. "We do instruct our members that it is their duty to join unions and leagues, to help build them where they do not exist, to work in them for progressive policies, to help clean out reactionary and corrupt officials."

Enthusiastic applause greeted the statement and new accessions to party membership are expected in what is already the party's most rapidly growing branch.

**What's Happening  
ABROAD**

by Ludwig Lore

**AUSTRIA**

Dispatches reporting a Socialist uprising in preparation in Austria continue to reach the American press. But they are inspired by the Austrian police and should be taken, therefore, with a grain of salt. Much more important is the news that an understanding has been practically reached between the "Fatherland Front" (Christian Social Party and Heimwehr) and the Austrian Nazis. Renewed persecution of radicals and Jews will be the first important consequence. Of the Socialists, Communists and Schutzbund members arrested in February, some four hundred are still behind prison walls and no indication of a possible trial has been given. Jewish doctors, teachers, engineers, etc. are being dropped from national, provincial and municipal pay-rolls or subjected to punitive measures. The fascist government in Austria is showing its anti-semitic claws. . . .

**BELGIUM**

The Convention of the Socialist Party held in Brussels on October 28 and 29 decided on measures against a number of leading members of the organization who were charged and convicted by the party forum of responsibility for the collapse of the Banque du Travail. All 21 members of the Board of Directors of the bank were forced to lay down their posts and to reimburse the bank for remuneration received in excess of normal income. The deputy Anseele, leader of Belgium's labor cooperative movement and Cabinet Minister must relinquish all financial mandates in the gift of the party and will not be nominated for office in the coming election. Two members were expelled. The Labor Bank was involved in difficulties of a catastrophic nature when the famous "Vooruit" in Ghent, the greatest of the Belgian cooperatives, was forced to declare bankruptcy. The "Vooruit" listed liabilities amounting to 250,000,000 francs—most of them with unprofitable socialist institutions—on very few of which the creditors were able to realize. By lending 82 and again 40 million francs to the Banque du Travail, the government avoided the complete breakdown of that institution. . . .

**GERMANY**

White terror in Germany is raging unabated and shows no sign of subsiding. During the month of October sentences aggregating 4,300 years in jail and prison were passed on political offenders. In Dortmund alone 127 Communists received 280 years in prison on one day—October 29. In a few days the monster trial, often announced but always postponed, against members of the S. A. P. is scheduled to commence. Twenty-five leaders of this courageous, revolutionary Socialist Party will face the People's Court under charges of high treason. Several are threatened with death sentence. In Breslau 44 workers from various towns in Silesia have been indicted and charged with treason for distributing socialist literature. They were condemned to 63½ years in prison. Under such circumstances the large increase in political prisoners reported by the Nazi government explains itself. In Prussia alone penal institutions contain 56,928 prisoners as against 40,030 last year. The number of political prisoners in Prussian prisons is reported at 7942. . . .

**GREAT BRITAIN**

The month of October was a long row of election victories for the Labor Party. In parliamentary by-elections and in municipal elections it wrested mandate after mandate out of the grasp of its Conservative and Liberal opponents. In the municipal elections it more than recovered its losses of 1932 when the National Labor

(Continued on Page 7)

**THE A. F. OF L. IN 1934**

By A. J. MUSTE

The job of organizing the heavy industries is now a heavy one indeed. Will the A. F. of L. succeed? Certain favorable factors exist. In the first place, the workers will have plenty of grievances; they will continue to need organization desperately. The capitalist system in this period of decline will see to that. It is obvious that the New Deal has not brought deliverance to the masses.

**Workers Will Fight**

Secondly, the issue of union recognition in the basic industries cannot be forever postponed, and only recently in the textile strike the workers have demonstrated that they are still willing to fight desperately over the issue under the A. F. of L. banner if they are given any kind of a lead. In spite of disappointment with the textile settlement and in spite of discrimination against thousands of strikers the textile workers apparently would fight over the issue of recognition again tomorrow if the United Textile Workers called them out!

**T. U. U. L. Declines**

In the next place, the A. F. of L. has now the almost undisputed right of way in the union field. The official Communist party Trade Union Unity League unions are being liquidated one after the other. Nowhere do they offer any serious competition any longer to the A. F. of L. unions. That these paper, disruptive, sectarian, C. P. controlled T. U. U. L. outfits should be cleared out of the way, that another of the official C. P. policies should thus be exposed for what it is, is a gain. Among all groups there is a growing determination to achieve united action on the economic field. This also is a great advantage in tackling the strongholds of company unionism.

Fourthly, numerically and organizationally the A. F. of L. is certainly stronger than in March 1933. There is a lot more life in its body than in the horrible Hooverian era. More use is being made of young and enthusiastic elements in organizing work. In this respect, further improvement is likely to result from the addition of the men we have previously named to the Executive Council. They will add drive and improved organization technique.

**No Relief Machinery**

Even in this respect, however, the A. F. of L. has still a long way to go. This was tragically illustrated in the recent textile strike when a paltry few thousand dollars was all that the two and three quarter million members of the Federation paid into the strike chest. Only three or four International unions contributed anything at all. The A. F. of L. still has no organized legal defense machinery or a defense fund. There is no organized relief machinery and no relief fund—as American labor advances to do battle with the automobile corporations and the steel trust!

Furthermore, if this battle is not to result in an ignominious defeat, the A. F. of L. must go into it with a new spirit and specifically with a determination to get a show-down on union recognition, with a willingness to lead the workers in a fight to the finish on that issue—not with the notion that Roosevelt can be depended upon to make them a present of union recognition in exchange for the labor vote.

Here comes the real rub. And here the recent San Francisco convention and the present outlook provide no substantial encouragement.

The convention which voted for industrial unions in the basic industries refused to recognize the right of the Brewery Workers Union to retain teamsters, engineers, etc. working in and about breweries in its membership. Though the workers are forcing joint action on the part of existing craft unions in many instances, the convention took no significant

**A Realistic Look at the Facts—Concluding Installment**

steps toward amalgamation of such unions. The Building Trades Unions are torn with a violent internal dispute showing that the czars who dominate them are still bound to rule or ruin.

**John L. Lewis Progressive?**

Nothing illustrates more dramatically the real state of things in the revived A. F. of L. than the fact that the dominant leaders of the "progressive" wing who carried the cause of industrial unionism to victory in the San Francisco convention were such labor czars as John L. Lewis, who for years has retained the presidency of the United Mine Workers by the methods of the gangster and the Tammany politician, Berry of the Pressmen, Hutchinson of the Carpenters and Tobin of the Teamsters.

**Labor Czars**

These men are among the loudest in denouncing fascism—dictatorship of any kind, whether fascist or communist they usually put it—and shouting for good old American democracy. In their own unions they rule with an iron hand, using any method whatever to keep themselves in power. No semblance of trade union democracy obtains. Any one who dares to raise his voice against administration policies is bought off or silenced. He is lucky if he gets off with that; as likely as not he will be expelled, deprived of his livelihood, framed up with the police or women, beaten up or even killed by thugs. The evils of autocracy, corruption, racketeering, gangsterism, have eaten like a gangrene into many unions in this country. The "new blood" in the Executive Council includes no one who is known for persistent and courageous struggle against these evils, and several who are themselves notoriously guilty of them.

**Red Baiting**

In connection with the San Francisco convention itself they gave an exhibition of what may be expected of them. In that city where an A. F. of L. strike was smashed during the past summer by vigilantes using the most shameless fascist tactics in these "democratic" United States against all "Reds," the A. F. of L. also planned to intensify its campaign to expel all "Communists" from the unions. It is true that the official Communist party has for years done its best to discredit communism and every form of radicalism in the trade union movement by its stupid, disruptive tactics of dual unionism, "capturing" unions, the united-front from below, breaking up the meeting of other labor groups by strong-arm methods, etc. Today it has to liquidate one T. U. U. L. union after another thus admitting the bankruptcy of these policies. It gives no indication, however, of realizing how irresponsible and criminal these policies have always been. If John Lewis and Co. were engaging in a vigorous campaign in the unions against these policies and taking drastic action against those who perpetrate disruptive acts, all responsible and honest radicals would support them. But this is not the case. These labor czars are not honestly interested in disciplining those who commit acts which weaken or disrupt the unions; if they were they would oust crooks, gangsters and Tammany politicians. No, they persecute members for their economic and political views. They will not tolerate any criticism. They wish to destroy every form of radicalism. They are so completely possessed with this idea that they are driven to positively foolish, insane acts and utterances. For example, the Executive Council's report to the San Francisco convention condemns the American Civil Liberties Union and by name such members of its National Committee as Prof. Felix Frankfurter of

Harvard University, possibly Roosevelt's most confidential adviser, as being in the control of Moscow and part of a network of conspiracy to overthrow the U. S. government!

Will these men infuse into the A. F. of L. a new spirit? Particularly the determination to lead the workers in a fight to the finish on union recognition, on the assumption that Roosevelt like all capitalist politicians will "give" what he is forced to give, not that he himself will build and lead the unions? Obviously these men have no such purpose.

**Roosevelt A. F. L. Boss**

In the first place, speaking the language of "politics," these leaders owe their present position to Roosevelt and are dependent upon him for the future. He, not their own efforts, gave them new members and a fresh lease on life. He has vastly increased their social prestige. Their henchmen all over the country hold jobs which are controlled by Roosevelt's Jim Farley. Will they really fight Roosevelt? Ask John L. Lewis who by March 1933 had come within an inch of losing his union altogether and who, though he was a Republican, has been lifted by the "liberal, idealistic friend of labor," Roosevelt, to a dominant position in the labor world. Of course, when the men in the U. S. steel mines threaten to upset the apple-cart by continuing on strike and Roosevelt takes down the receiver and says, "John, I want you to get those men back to work and tell them that I will see that justice is done" (after the strike-weapon is taken out of their hands), Lewis replies: "O. K., Frank, anything you say goes with me."

**Class Collaboration**

In the second place, the philosophy of these labor leaders will keep them from following a militant course. They do not understand that, no matter how honest and kind Roosevelt may be, labor can no longer improve its standards, cannot get security under the capitalist system. Like Roosevelt they do not want to overthrow capitalism, they want to save it. They do not want class-struggle, they want class-collaboration. They want "partnership of industry, labor and government," not realizing that so long as basic resources and the productive machine are privately owned this means partnership of industry and government against labor.

**Where Are the Militants?**

That raises the big question which we must face in conclusion, the key problem in the field of unionism today. It is the crying need of the hour that the progressive, militant and left-wing forces in the trade unions should be organized, strengthened, gotten to function effectively. They, rather than the present leadership, must gain the confidence of the membership. They must provide a new leadership.

There are at least several thousand revolutionary workers in the U. S. There are many more who are honestly progressive and militant though they may not be full-fledged revolutionists. There is desperate need for their leadership. The workers have clearly demonstrated in Toledo, Minneapolis, and San Francisco, for example, that they will follow such leadership when it is available. Why is it then that these elements have so little influence in the labor movement today? Why could they raise no effective voice in the A. F. of L. convention? Why could the United Textile Workers' leaders in Paterson, one of the traditional centers of radicalism and rank and file control in the U. S., send the workers back to the mills recently at the conclusion of the general strike on a very unsatisfactory settlement without even going through the motions of putting the question before the membership?

(Continued on Page 7)

**THEIR  
Government**

by James Burnham

An election under capitalism is a good deal like what it would be if the prisoners in a jail were allowed to elect their warden every few years. They would be able to vote for their choice among two or three candidates that the authorities put up, and no doubt everyone would say what a free and democratic jail it was. The only catch would be that, whoever got elected, they would still be prisoners. The prison walls would still be just as high, the locks just as strong, the cells just as small, the food just as bad.

Perhaps one warden would be a little pleasanter or kinder than another. But the real problem for prisoners is not who to have for warden, but how to get out of jail.

As long as capitalism continues, the small group of big capitalists who control the productive plant of the country will exercise a social dictatorship over the rest of the population. The government officials, local, state, and national, are never anything more than their political agents, who help them maintain the dictatorship. The choice that voters have in an election is merely between two or three sets of agents, all of whom represent the same basic interest—the interest of the capitalist dictatorship. Whoever wins, the mass of the voters continues to be exploited in the same manner as before. This will go on until the prisoners of capitalism decide that it is more important to smash the capitalist jail than to change the political warden.

From this point of view, the parliamentary show put on at the election booths November 6 was a dull affair compared to the genuine struggles of the past six months that took place at Toledo, Minneapolis, San Francisco, Rhode Island, Georgia. Nevertheless, elections are always important as an indication of the state of mind of a people, even though they hide the real clash of social forces.

Most newspapers have interpreted this month's elections as a Great Victory for Roosevelt and the New Deal. It is true that Roosevelt will have what no President since the Civil War has ever had as a result of the off-year elections: a two-thirds majority for his party in both Houses of Congress.

It is wrong, however, to believe that this marks a great tide of popular support for the New Deal in any positive sense. The vote is in reality a negative vote. It does not show great faith in the New Deal; but it does show the popular rejection of the kind of reactionary criticism of the New Deal made by the Old Guard Republicans.

This election shows the end of Old Guard Republicanism. Either the Republican Party has got to take a new line, or it is finished nationally.

That the election has chiefly this negative meaning can be proved in a number of ways. For one thing, the vote was small, whereas if there had really been great popular enthusiasm, there would have been a large vote. In 43 of the 48 states the campaigns excited little general interest, and the papers had a hard time making the election look important.

What is more significant, in four of the five states where there were bitterly fought campaigns—in Minnesota, Wisconsin, New Mexico, and California—the New Deal was not the big issue. In Minnesota the issue was the Farmer-Labor Party; in Wisconsin, it was the personal fight of the LaFollettes; in New Mexico, the Republican Senatorial candidate, Cutting, was a supporter of the New Deal; in California, the fight was over the Sinclair Epic plan. Michigan was the one state where there was a bitter fight and where the New Deal was the central issue. And in Michigan the New Deal lost. Vandenberg, the Republican candidate

(Continued on Page 7)

# Pre-Convention Discussion Articles

## Sees Merger Producing The American Approach

The American Workers Party must explain what it means by its much talked-about American Approach, and the Communist League of America must explain why its pockets are filled with tracts written with a vengeance against Stalinism. They will have to help each other do this, of course, but this is precisely the point of the merger. How the merger can take place without some such result, painful as it may be, I am too naive to imagine.

That is why I'm for the merger: the CLA will have to help us produce the new approach and we will have to help the CLA empty its pockets. It's a bargain either way you look at it but it will be like pulling teeth. We do not want the new party to have to explain its existence in terms of Communist party and Socialist party criticisms. And we do want a party that won't commit the old mistake of spending 50 percent of its time writing programs to convince itself (and other radical groups) that it is really revolutionary, and the other 50 percent explaining why it has failed to make headway because of objective conditions.

We will have to understand there are many questions that have arisen to confront the proletariat since the death of Marx, and lately since the death of Lenin—questions that the new party will have to face not with the old shibboleths coined by the Marxists in the era before fascism, but with the courage and the ruthless honesty that come from disillusionment, from the viewpoint of failure. And of course we have failed, just as every radical group in America has failed. Let us admit it; to say otherwise is to condemn the new party before it gets started.

And let us ask: How account for the fact that in America the

revolutionary movement is still small, unbelievably small, and the workers still afraid of the reds? How account for the fact that whenever fascism and radicalism have struggled for power, fascism has won? And what about the middle-classes, quite frankly, what about them? Shall we repeat the incantations and hope for the best? Or shall we propose, as a remedy for all these problems, another joint Marxian statement, another rephrasing of a position, another criticism of the CP and SP, another discourse on the crisis of capitalism and the pressing need for building another revolutionary party? I don't think so; all this is undoubtedly important, but what

is more important now is the technique of convincing the workers and the professionals and the white collar workers that plenty through revolution is not just possible but highly desirable.

The fights and headaches accompanying the process of fusion of the two groups, over old concepts and approaches that have failed and the emerging but not yet quite formulated new methods of procedure, are, in my opinion, absolutely necessary. This process forces us to think. That's why I'm for the merger. To justify our movement as an independent force, existing neither by the virtue of our criticism of other parties nor by the excellent words in our program, we have to get the workers and others to listen to us. Upon the solution of this problem depends whether we become the new party or pass from the scene. There can be no other practical reason for the new party.

TESS HUFF

## "Lead the Auto Strike" - Program for New Party

Like all working class groups and parties, we spend too much time talking in vague generalities, and making great plans that we have no chance at all of carrying out. We must estimate our strength correctly, and then map out our work on a short-time basis, concentrating energy on a few tasks that we can really accomplish and not flying around all over the place.

I propose the following four point Program of Concentration for the period immediately following the Convention up to April 1st. My idea would be to have the regular jobs carried along as routine, and to direct major efforts, personnel, and money to get-

ting these four matters done in a big way.

1. Double the Party Membership. This ought to be easy if every party member shared responsibility. And we've got to quit waiting for perfect revolutionists to come along before we ask someone to join the Party. Militant workers are made into revolutionists after they get into the Party, not before.

2. Lead the Auto Strike. If there is half way decent leadership, there is going to be a great auto strike in this period. We can lead this strike. This means not only using all the forces we now have in autos, but also (1) setting up a Detroit office; (2) sending 15 or 20 comrades to Detroit at once to try to get jobs in the shops; (3) giving lots of space to autos in the party organ; (4) having speakers talking at every shop gate and in meetings every night in Detroit; (5) publishing a special bulletin for the auto workers; (6) having real political direction of the whole fight; etc. etc.

3. Begin Real Organization of the Left Wing in the Trade Unions. This year has shown once again the helplessness of individual militants and progressives in the unions against the official leadership. The Party must take the leadership in building up an organized, effective left wing group. The first steps toward this can be taken immediately.

4. Found the Workers Guard. I propose this also as an immediate task for the Party. The workers in this country cannot wait, as the workers have done in other countries, until the Fascist militia is well organized and trained, before taking extra-legal measures of their own. The whole history of Fascism teaches the inescapable lesson that the development of the workers' militia must be kept in advance of the development of the Fascist militia. We are already confronted with many embryonic Fascist groups, and with sporadic but increasing outbursts from so-called vigilantes. We must and can begin now the training of a uniformed and disciplined workers' guard under revolutionary leadership. Its tasks for the present will be to guard working class meetings, handle the vigilantes, give special auxiliary service in strikes, etc. These will prepare for new tasks to come.

JAMES BURNHAM

## RADICALS BETTER LEARN THE FARM, SAYS FARMER

An "experienced" and well known Marxist, in speaking of the militant mid-western farmer organizers, recently said: "They send us all kinds of plans. While these plans look good on paper they, at the same time, show the author's lack of experience and lack of knowledge of the class struggle and everything else relating to the revolutionary movement."

That Marxist was probably sincere, but it is very evident that he does not understand that many of the plans, sent in by active and militant farmers, come from something far deeper than a couple of hours of slap-stick discussion between Farmer Jones and two or three of his neighbors.

Farmer Jones well remembers that it was just a year and a half ago when a young radical organizer came into his neighborhood for the purpose of organizing the farmers for the "revolution." This

organizer had graduated from Columbia University just the year before. He had dark hair and eyes and talked with an accent that Farmer Jones and his neighbors could not identify with any nation they knew anything about. The fellow was very neat and very honest. He spent much of his time reading. Jones and his neighbors took a liking to him in spite of the fact that he was not prone to listen to any suggestions.

It was right in the middle of corn cultivating season but the boys all took a couple of days off to help this young fellow start organizing. A hail in the small town was rented for one night. Circulars were distributed all over the county. The night of the big get-together-meeting found an audience of only forty persons in the hall—and most of that audience was composed of loafers from the town—fellows who go to everything that comes along providing they do not have to pay admission. The young organizer spoke—no applause. Few really grasped his ideas. None understood the terminology he used. The organizing business did not seem to hitch worth a damn. Another attempt was made. The loafers did not even attend this time. The young radical left on the morning train. That was the last radical organizer that Jones ever saw. He would sadly chuckle when he heard folks tell about the "red danger" after that.

"These radical organizers are mighty touchy," Farmer Jones mused one day, "I don't pretend to know much about economics. Lord, no! But I do claim that those fellows ought to learn a little about farms and farmers before they come out here to organize."

"First place," said Jones, "this young fellow came out here at a very busy time. Corn cultivating was in full swing and none of us had time to help him much. He seemed to think that it should be a very easy thing to get several hundred farmers to attend a meeting once or twice a week. He failed to understand that it's quite a job for us to get away just any time we want to. City fellows and miners live right near the hall and have regular work hours. An 80-acre farm is a small farm out here. Just think how far some of the boys would have to come at night."

And Farmer Jones has hit upon only a few of the many difficulties,

in organizing the farmers, that are not yet coped with. To ignore these difficulties is a great mistake. That the militant farmers are not yet more advanced, in a revolutionary way, is partly due to the radical organizer's lack of understanding as to actual conditions. FACTORY GATE METHODS of organizing are hardly practical in an area where there are hardly ten adults to the square mile. This fact was sadly overlooked by the pre-war Socialist party. It is being just as badly neglected today, by all the existing radical parties.

The economic crisis is at least five years old. The midwest agricultural element is a militant mass. It struck once! It will strike again! It is not to be quieted with any AAA dope! The vote on the corn-hog contracts, in spite of the Roosevelt administration's pretty picture of it, exposed the farmer's attitude toward the New Deal.

Will the farm masses have revolutionary guidance and leadership the next time they strike back? It is obvious that the failure to win over the farmers is not so much a question of the farmers' "backwardness" as it is of the radicals' methods of organizing the farmers. Therefore, it is suggested that these "paper plans," of these very active and militant farmers, be given a little deeper study in the future. It might result in a better understanding all around.

MID-WEST FARMER

## Let Convention Decide?

The POC has shelved arrangements for a Unity Convention until the AWP Convention has passed on fusion. This was done when anti-fusionists charged that for the POC to make tentative plans, subject to ratification by our Convention, was undemocratic. Because these comrades now operate under the slogan, "Leave the decision to the convention," while bombarding Branches with last minute arguments and threats that leading comrades will resign if merger takes place, we may well review their position. Fusionists want discussion; they fought for months to get programmatic articles about the CLA into LABOR ACTION.

It is charged that the CLA can't do mass work. While many who say this are not themselves conspicuous participants in mass activity, the charge must be considered. In the past year, the CLA has had entree to two mass situations: the NY Hotel Strike and the Minneapolis Truck-Drivers Strike. Remembering our role in the former, we should not be too severe. Suffice it to say that the strike was lost; probably unavoidably. But Minneapolis compares favorably with any of our recent activities in strike strategy. What is equally important, militants have since consolidated their position in the union, and the CLA has recruited members.

It is objected that fusion means becoming Trotskyites. If this means joining a Trotsky admiration society, it's untrue. But if it means accepting Trotsky's analysis of the Comintern's bankruptcy, many of us are Trotskyites already.

Accepting a general Communist position, one must argue with Browder that the CI and CPUSA are OK; with Lovestone that the CPSU is OK, but that the CI which

it dominates is bad, (i.e., Stalinism is wrong everywhere except at the source); or with Trotsky that the CI and CPUSA fail because they pursue Stalinist policies which are false at the source. To add that Trotskyites harp on "irrelevant 'Russian' questions," means not to recognize that events of the last decades have any lessons for us. But if we haven't learned from Stalin's adventures with Chang Kai Chek, with the Anglo-Russian Committee, and with Hitler, why aren't we in the Comintern? We break with the CI on precisely those international questions about which it and the Left Opposition differed, and not on the CPUSA's false Trade-Union line.

Some comrades believe that if we don't merge we'll win all the Trotskyites anyway. There is unfortunately no guarantee that the process won't be reversed. These comrades fail to see that the value of our fusion lies largely in the spectacle of groups as groups coming together, so that workers will know that a turn has been made and that unification of the revolutionary forces is under way.

Finally, it's charged that Trotskyites don't practice the American Approach. If this means "Speaking the American language," I refer all comers to the Minneapolis Organizer; for the rest, workers' basic problems are everywhere the same, and without an international working-class approach, we can not serve the interests of even the American workers.

Space limitations dictate omission of many of the writer's arguments, but it is his wish that our Convention see the election of delegates prepared to launch our Party on the broadest possible basis thru a Unity Convention and fusion.

LARRY COHEN

## From the Deep South

Dear Comrades:

Permit me a Negro Marxist to congratulate you on the excellent article by Comrade Lampton on the Negro question in the November 1 issue of LABOR ACTION. It is sane and sensible.

I do not wish to underestimate the value of the propaganda and education by the northern Marxists among my people: their heroic sacrifice and the danger they face is beyond praise or price. They risk both life and liberty not only from mob violence and secret assassination but frame-up and kangaroo from within the law as well. The point is they are misunderstood from the very start by both black and white on account of their approach.

The northern radical does not understand the psychology of the

Negro of the South and he confuses the entire issue by making it a race question instead of one of economic freedom. . . . We must not approach the problem as a race question but as an economic question and the Negro must be educated not as a Negro but as a proletarian who is exploited by capitalism. . . . If we don't approach this question with caution and sense then we are beat before we start.

It is absolutely essential that we have the help of the white folks not only in the final struggle but in our every day lives to obtain more relief and to acquire a sense of the necessity for a Marxian movement composed of all workers, black and white, against our common enemy.

While I am a member of the Communist party I fear that the C.P. oftentimes creates a dangerous situation over issues that are unnecessary, unwillingly and unknowingly, but the southern Marxist be he black or white seldom makes this error. I have two friends both of whom are of the C.P. but lean toward the American Workers Party and the CLA—we hope they merge.

NEGRO MARXIST  
Alabama

**DANCE DANCE DANCE**  
**SATURDAY, DECEMBER 15**  
9 P. M.  
**IRVING PLAZA—15 St. and Irving Place**  
Auspices  
**American Workers Party**  
**Communist League of America**  
IN ADVANCE 30c AT THE DOOR 40c

## THE SOAPBOXER

A number of comrades have written to LABOR ACTION for information and advice on conducting street meetings. "The Soapboxer" which is written from the experiences of several of the best street speakers in New York City is intended to serve as a medium for answering the questions raised by these and other comrades as to how to conduct effective street meetings and meet the innumerable problems that arise. "The Soapboxer" will not be a regular feature but will be published from time to time as questions raised by comrades demand.—Editor.

The Soapboxer is at it again. The branch's quota of LABOR ACTION is under the platform in a battered brief-case and several of the branch comrades are out to form the nucleus of the crowd. The Soapboxer is speaking in a comparatively low tone until his salivary glands are functioning and "oiling" his throat. Then, gradually, as more people collect, he launches into his speech. Forty workers have gathered around him when there is a disturbance in the crowd.

"He's ri', he's absollully ri'—what this guy's sayin' absollully ri'."

"God almighty, a drunk to get rid of" thinks the Soapboxer, then leaning over in a confidential manner, he says to the drunk: "My friend I'm glad to see that you agree with me—that's what I'm here for and I'm glad to see that somebody agrees with me already. Now, if you'll help me, I'm going to try to get these other workers here to agree with me too, and the way that will have to be done is to let me go ahead and speak to them."

"Ri', absollully ri'," but the drunk is quiet only for a moment. Then one of the comrades in the crowd persuades the drunk to come a little way from the crowd "to talk confidentially." In the meantime the Soapboxer is getting the attention of the crowd again.

"My friends, there are two ways of getting away from the capitalist system that are popular in America, one is to get drunk and the other is to commit suicide. If you get drunk, there's the morning after headache and the worry about how much it cost you. If you commit suicide, long after you've said 'Good morning, Jesus' the system will still be going on. We're trying to face it here, not by getting drunk and not by cutting our throats, but by urging an organization of the working-class to abolish the whole rotten set-up."

The crowd has grown larger and the Soapboxer has mentioned "confiscation." This time another heckler breaks in, not a drunk, but a firm supporter of the jack-ass and the elephant.

"So you want to rob all the people who worked hard and saved and divide up what they've saved with the bums who don't work. That's your idea, ain't it? That's your idea, ain't it? Answer me that, that's your idea . . ."

"My friend, we try to conduct our meetings on the basis of working-class democracy. That means that everyone has the same chance as everyone else to ask questions. If I'm any good up here, there'll be plenty of questions when I get through—but if I stop and answer your question now, the rest of these people here won't have a chance to ask their questions. I know that you don't want to put yourself above the other people here and I'm sure your question will wait until the others have the same chance you will.

"Now my friends, we were saying that when you confiscate what Morgan or Rockefeller or the DuPonts have and convert it to the use of all who work, you're not robbing at all. You're simply taking back what they stole in the first place. And, for that

## What's Happening ABROAD

(Continued from Page 5)

Party of MacDonald split the labor forces. These election victories may be in part responsible for the Labor Party's abrupt refusal to enter a United Front with the Communist and Independent Labor Parties. Be that as it may, there is little likelihood that British fascism will be opposed by a united labor front in the near future. The Labor Party should not overlook the fact that despite these tremendous political victories, membership in the trade unions of Great Britain fell still further in the last year. Membership figures are 4,383,000 this year as against 5,197,000 in 1932. . . .

### PORTUGAL

Contradicting reports of flourishing economic conditions, Portugal is facing an economic collapse in the near future. The fascist state is bankrupt. Portuguese workers, their own trade unions suppressed, are refusing to join the fascist trade union organizations. The devaluation of national currency and real estate values, increased prices, drastic wage reductions and a general standstill in production are threatening the fascist state. State police and censorship are active everywhere. Political opponents are deported or condemned to prison terms of from ten to 20 years. Emigration being strictly forbidden, thousands are being smuggled into France to escape intolerable conditions at home . . .

### SOVIET UNION

After a brief illness the well-known American Nicholas Hourwich who played a prominent role in the Socialist Party and in the first years of the Communist move-

ment in this country died in Moscow. Comrade Hourwich went to Russia in 1920 and remained there as teacher of Marxism at the Ukraine University . . .

## Their Government

(Continued from Page 5)

for the Senate, beat out the New Deal Democrat. And the reason for this was the resentment of the auto workers at the New Deal Auto Code. Bad as Vanderberg was, he looked better to the auto workers than the Code.

Because of the negative quality of the support of Roosevelt, and because of the success of the Progressive Party in Wisconsin and the Farmer-Labor Party in Minnesota, this election has given a big drive to the movement for a "third party." Both these groups are talking more loudly about organization on a national scale. And agitation for a Labor Party is growing within the A. F. of L. We shall hear much more about these third party developments during the next two years.

It is taking the American people a desperately long time to break away from the "two party system." Nevertheless, there are signs now that the break is coming soon. Therefore the LaFollettes and Olsens are anxious to make sure that a "decent," safe, reformist third party is ready and waiting.

Otherwise, the break from the old parties might carry the masses directly over to support of the revolutionary party. And this is a possibility that "decent" and "safe" politicians do not like to contemplate.

## "Learn from the Workers"

(Discussion Article)

The discussions centering around the proposed merger, it seems to me, have had at least one good effect on members of the Party—it has speeded up the process of political thinking inside the party. For a Party that started, as ours did, with labor militants driving of necessity and logic to a political expression, the mere act of a general political thinking throughout the Party is so much gained.

The difficulty has been that many of us have been content to let "mass thinkers" do our thinking for us. Too many of us have assumed that this political discussion needed at least a double armful of obscure pamphlets, footnotes by the yard and a positive method of statement that makes the wildest absurdity appear to be deep thinking.

We have numbers of comrades in our ranks who know all about Marx; but it is not true that any comrade in our ranks knows all about Marxism. Marx died amplifying and explaining his works; it is presumptuous, to say the least, to have comrades in our Party sound as though they had accomplished what Marx had not—a complete and final statement of Marxism.

The tragedy of our labor movement is not the lack of theory abroad in the land, nor the lack of militancy inherent and evident in the working class. The tragedy has been that the theorists are divorced from the masses.

The C.L.A. has been successful so far in selling us a phrase. "Minneapolis and Toledo." See, comrades, we are equal in our mass

matter, when millions of workers and their wives and families are starving in the midst of plenty, I don't care whether Morgan calls it stealing or not, I'm for it. In a Workers' Democracy the laws won't protect the first crook who happens to get his hands on the wealth of the nation. The laws will protect all who work and produce the wealth that all will use."

work!

But to pretend that one Minneapolis makes a revolution is to pretend an absurdity.

Beyond Toledo is much more on our side of the ledger. The largest unemployed organization has been built by our organization. It has been built in most cases where revolutionary groups have hitherto been unable to get a hearing—among workers in the "scissorsbill" country. It has made unity of the employed and unemployed a reality; not in isolated instances, but everywhere it has built.

The role of a revolutionary Party, it seems to me, is not only to teach the workers, but to learn from the workers as well. And, unless the party is with the workers in their daily fights, it learns only what it knows itself and not the tremendously important lessons that the masses have to teach. I am interested, of course, when we have been able to convert a dozen miscellaneous Lovestoneites, Weisbrodites, Gitlowites and Trotskyites to our way of thinking—but I want a Party which is capable of converting those workers who are Republicans and Democrats and Father Coughlin's and Huey Long's audience.

Let us drop our feeling of inferiority. The C.L.A. has done good work in a very limited field—it has taken some workers from the C.P. and pointed their noses in the proper direction. But we are organizing and hardening and developing workers who have been touched by no revolutionary force, and would not have been touched had we not come along. We have been skilled not only in talking to the workers—we have done the hard job of listening to the workers day by day as well; and, having listened, have known what they are prepared to do.

I am convinced that the revolution will not be led by that group which has the largest library of Marx, but by those who have the leadership of the workers and have learned the lessons of Marxism.

WARREN MONTROSS

## The A. F. of L. in 1934

(Continued from Page 5)

**Communist Party Adventurism**  
A very large share of the responsibility for that tragic situation, tragic because the naturally militant American workers might be taking such mighty strides forward today if conditions were otherwise, must be placed upon the official Communist party and the Trade Union Unity League. As we have already pointed out, by their policy of building dual unions, by disruptive attempts to "capture" unions, which simply meant capturing their own membership over and over again by dishonest and fake "united fronts," by using strong-arm methods to break up meetings of other groups, they have isolated themselves from the masses of workers in spite of the many dramatic struggles they have led. They have strengthened the hands of the reactionary labor czars who have been able to persuade their members that radicalism is synonymous with disruption, dual unionism and hooliganism.

**Socialist Party Passivity**  
The Socialist party likewise bears a share of responsibility for the lack of an effective progressive left wing in the trade union movement. The right wing of that party is in close alliance with the A. F. of L. leaders. No section of the party has ever carried on a consistent fight against gangsterism, racketeering and autocracy in the unions, has ever fought for a really new leadership and a class-struggle basis in the A. F. of L.

The younger elements in the new unions—Federal locals, new steel locals, etc.—have to a large extent up to now been outmaneuvered by the wise old birds in the A. F. of L. These new men have lacked experience. They have too often been unable to sink petty differences and personal ambitions within their own ranks. They have lacked a radical philosophy to give them some clue in the midst of bewildering changes, mass strikes, etc.

It is clear that the building of an effective progressive-left wing in the unions is closely bound up with the building of a genuinely effective revolutionary workers' party.

**The Progressive Program**  
The point to be emphasized here is that the honest, progressive, fighting elements in the unions of which there is no lack must be organized, and organized on a sound, challenging program.

The coming organization of the militant unionists will:

1. Repudiate any general dual

union policy. It will stand for one fighting industrial union in each industry and a united trade union movement.

2. Repudiate any attempt to "capture" unions by mechanical means, force, or political horse-trading.

3. Fight for democratic control of the unions by their own membership free from domination by union autocracies or by political or other outside organizations.

4. Demand full democratic rights for all union members and unions open to all workers in a trade or industry regardless of political or economic views, nationality, race, color, sex.

5. Stand for fighting unionism built on the solidarity and militancy of the members, not on favors from the bosses or politicians, or government agencies.

6. Against graft, racketeering, gangsterism and similar evils.

7. For the industrial and against the outworn craft structure.

8. For vigorous efforts to organize the unorganized, especially the masses of the unskilled and semi-skilled in the basic industries. For support of all genuine efforts of workers to organize fighting unions of their own choosing whether in or out of the A. F. of L.

9. For a nation-wide campaign to smash company unionism once and for all.

10. For united action of all workers and organizations, regardless of political differences, against any fascist attempts to deprive the workers of their democratic right to organize, strike and picket.

### Forward

The new year may witness astonishing changes in this field. The social and economic forces that have caused even the ultra-cautious leaders of the A. F. of L. to change their position within a few years on social insurance, the relation of government to industry, and the structure of unionism, are not yet spent. An American trade union movement marked by militancy and genuine integrity, which will be an independent and original force in American life, not a tail to some one else's kite, may emerge from the struggles of the next twelve months. The workers who fought in Toledo, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, up and down the Pacific coast, in textile centers from Canada to the Gulf, these and others will fight again—and may yet lead the workers of the world in building a mass movement that can cope with fascism and capitalist reaction and barbarism in every form.

## MANAGER SPEAKS

Have you any children in your home, say between 12 and 18?

Would they be interested in the newspaper issued by Pioneer Youth, a non-political organization for workers' children and young people? It is 8 or 10 pages, mimeographed, newspaper make-up, written with a labor point of view, and includes stories, cartoons, suggestions about games and things to make, puzzles, letters from young readers, etc.

Ask Pioneer Youth, 69 Bank Street, New York City for a sample copy or send 25¢ for 3 months subscription.

Please, who ordered a copy of the Plebs pamphlet WHAT IS MARXISM, by A. J. Williams? Copies have come, but we mislaid your order.

There are four more copies of this useful 32 pages pamphlet which tells in a short and simple

### To Keeps Prices Up

To keep prices up, Brazil has burned 32,000,000 bags of coffee, enough to supply the entire needs of the world for sixteen months.

fashion who Marx was and what Marxism is. Price 15¢.

Letters this week include:

"This meagre enclosure (25¢ sub) is the best I can do now. LABOR ACTION is swell." J. R. Bryan, Ohio.

"You can count on me soon to send in more names to one of the best labor papers I have ever read." DCA, Bridgewater, Va.

"I think LABOR ACTION is getting progressively better, and it most certainly deserves to be a weekly. Send the following requests to subscribe." JCH, Cranford, N. J.

### To Branches

What the hell . . . ! Is this a campaign, or is it a Christian Science correspondence course?

A quarter of the two month period is gone, and only four branches have been heard from.

New York speaks out with 16 percent of its quota already achieved, but we only just managed to figure out Newark with 3.5 percent and Allentown with 2.3 percent while West Virginia with 1 sub on a quota of 112 was beyond our calculations. But even then, 1 better than the rest of you.

Two subs per member in two months! How could it be any easier,—or what kind of branch members are you?

Also, did you receive your "surprise package" and have you paid us the postage yet?

CARA COOK

# CHILDREN IN RUSSIA ARE TAUGHT HOW TO LIVE

## In the United States the Schools Unfit Students for Life, the Writer of This Article Finds

(Comrade Ageloff is a Graduate of the American School System. She Writes of the Russian Schools from First Hand Observation.—The Editor.)

By HILDA AGELOFF

The function of education must be to give the student a better equipment for living his life than he would otherwise have. Using this as a standard, how can we reconcile the fact that there are 6,000,000 college bred men and women in the United States who are unable to find jobs? Certainly a college education unfits a young woman for a job as housemaid where she might possibly find an opening and it likewise unfits the young man for work in a CCC camp.

In Soviet Russia, one finds a complete reversal of the conditions which exist here. Contrasted with the United States where 200,000 registered teachers are out of jobs, some thousands are working without salaries and a third of the employed teachers receive less than minimum code wages, in the Soviet Union the big problem is finding more teachers at higher than average salaries, and more schools. There are 30,000,000 students in our schools compared with 24,000,000 (1932-33) in Russia, but over 2,000,000 children who reached school age last year in this country could not find school accommodations because of budgetary cuts, while in Russia the 1932-33 figure represents a 25 per cent jump over the school attendance of the year previous.

The great complaint in the USSR is that the schools are turning out imperfect technicians, doctors not sufficiently learned in their profession, etc. The demand for trained services so far exceeds the supply that students are often sent

out to jobs before they are quite ready. In the United States, on the other hand, it is a simple matter to polish one's education as bright as a diamond—but to what avail?

### Schools and Life

There has been a weak attempt in U. S. universities recently to open vocational guidance departments. This does not mean, however that college courses are re-adjusted in accordance with the findings of the vocational bureau, nor does it mean that any effort is made by industry or by the government to use the services of these departments. It simply remains at best, a futile attempt on the part of the colleges to establish some contact with the world outside their doors.

By way of contrast it must be noted that in the USSR where the schools themselves are still crude, the building facilities bad, and the teachers insufficient, the tie-up between education and the national life is nevertheless complete. Instead of dumping out a few hundred thousand college graduates each year to shift for themselves in a world which has no place for them, eager young engineers, doctors, teachers and technicians of all sorts are created— young people whose spirits have been electrified, whose personalities have been enlarged by their education instead of being crushed.

### A Definite Goal

Co-operation between the economic forces of the nation and the school, political and technical training, are the chief concerns of

Soviet education today. The student's home, his extra-curricular activities, his every detail of living are so closely interwoven with his school that the teacher becomes a leader rather than one who imparts instruction.

The drive toward a definite goal is so strong that the student has only one impulse. He finds himself in a society of equals and his energies are directed with such singleness of purpose that there is little opportunity for the development of a misfit. There is very little groping around in the student's mind as to what he or she wishes to be. They are taught engineering and the emphasis is always placed on the type of professionals or technicians in demand.

### Training For Service

In Russia, if a collective farm needs a doctor, it takes its most promising student and sends him or her to a medical school. In the large university towns there are

separate apartment houses for the students who run their own restaurant, laundry, library, etc. University students draw an allowance from the state, and for those who cannot find their way into the limited quarters of the university, there are numerous free technical schools. Formerly many students were sent abroad by the state to complete their education, but that has been stopped due to shortage of funds. During vacations, students usually serve an apprenticeship out in the field.

Also, many of the instructors take factory positions for a time to get practical experience and to learn something about the psychology of the worker. They have therefore a more understanding attitude toward their students than do teachers in other countries.

Education in Russia tends to build a creative force out of its student body, while the capitalistic educational system condemns its students to ever greater conflict with the world outside the school.

# NEWS REEL

By A. A.

"Depression is Over for Henry Ford," rejoices a New York World-Telegram headline.

Now the 14,000,000 unemployed have nothing at all to worry about!

Southern industrialists protest—so reports the Wall Street Journal—against the "high wages" paid by FERA. The Government, say these industrialists, is pushing wages up too high.

FERA wages run about \$6—a week. And that—as you can easily guess—"demoralizes" the labor market.

The Ward Line—owners of the ill-fated "Morro Castle"—received several millions of dollars in Government subsidies.

The subsidies were granted to allow the Ward Line to engage full crews, pay high wages and maintain decent living conditions for its men, in competition with supposedly lower operating costs of the foreign lines.

Actually, the Ward Line hired alien seamen, worked them long hours, gave them poor food and low wages, and undermanned their ships.

Other American shipping companies, beneficiaries of Government subsidies to the tune of \$33,000,000 are guilty of the same practices.

Just another illustration of the corruption and greed inherent in the profit system.

So the duPont Brothers—the four peace-loving boys who just hate war and cannot understand how they made all that money during the Great War—have subscribed \$425,000 to the Republican and Democratic campaign funds during the last 15 years?

Now, isn't that a surprise!

According to Brookings Institute statistics, the glorious prosperity year of 1929 found 40 per cent of the families in the United States with an annual income under \$1500.—

Even "recovery" to the conditions of 1929 would not change the maladjustment and injustice of the capitalist system.

### Headlines

Denver Police Beat Relief Agitators . . . Albany Cops Batter Hunger Marchers . . . New York Court Prohibits Picketing . . . Police Disperse Pickets at East Rutherford, N. J. . . .

In other words—the good old truce between Capital and Labor and the good old Constitutional rights of free assembly and petition!

### Recovery Statistics

Thirty-four states have no laws regulating homework; women are doing industrial work at home at wages of two to five cents an hour.

The 1,387,000 persons employed for the week ending Oct. 11, on Government relief work, received the munificent average wage of \$10—a week.

During the month of September about 16,000,000 persons received relief from the Government. This was an increase of 6 per cent over August.

For the first nine months of 1934 corporate profits showed a gain of 72 per cent over earnings in the same period of 1933.

The A. & P. Stores, faced with unprofitable high-rent leases in Cleveland, jump at the excuse offered by the butchers' strike to shut up shop, pull out of the city and callously throw 2,000 employees out on the street.

More truce between Capital and Labor, Pres. Roosevelt!

NEW YORK.—Speaking at a joint meeting of the New York membership of the American Workers Party and the Communist League of America, Karl Lore and Arne Swabek dealt with trade union and propaganda work respectively. Arnold Johnson spoke on organizing the unemployed.

# TEACHERS VIEW COLLECTIVE ACTION

By JOHN GARDNER

As the struggle for power sharpens, will teachers rally to the support of labor? A hopeful sign was the birth of *The Social Frontier* in October. This "journal of educational criticism and reconstruction" is edited under the direction of Professor George S. Counts of Columbia, whose challenge during the schools to build a new social order rings out afresh in the pages of this first issue. On its list of sponsors stand several of the brightest names in American education. And not the least of these, that of John Dewey. Nor less distinguished are the contributors to the initial number, including Beard, Fairchild, Dewey, and Hook.

Unlike other educational journals, *The Social Frontier* avows its social point-of-view. It comes out forthright for a "collectivistic and classless society"; it calls upon education to "take the initiative" in directing social change to this end; and it submits that to work effectively educators must identify themselves with the "underprivileged masses." Its key function, as it states, is drawing together "educational workers" who are beginning to think in terms of directing "social reconstruction," and providing them with an instrument of communication with which they may enlarge their influence, "clarify their thoughts and purposes," and hammer out their policies for.

While the basic social position of the journal, as editorially enunciated, is radical, it is patently not Marxian. Significant, indeed, is the stress upon "reconstruction" and the avoidance of the word "revolution." Admitting the class division of American society, the

editors in effect deny the class struggle. Perhaps their fundamental confusion is the failure to grasp the class nature of the state, and the consequent failure to understand that first and foremost the public schools constitute an important coercive instrument of capitalist dictatorship. Professors of education may be allowed for the present to talk of social reconstruction in university classrooms, but teachers who take them on their word and attempt to practise social reconstruction in public school classrooms soon find themselves on the bread lines.

If teachers as a vocational group cannot lead the way to a new order, nevertheless, it is of crucial importance that they do not oppose the revolutionary vanguard, but as individuals march shoulder to shoulder with industrial workers. Teachers constitute a major segment of that vast American middle class, without whose permissive support, at least, no revolutionary working class movement can win through in this country. Teachers must not be allowed to go fascist, and this danger is no far-fetched bogey.

In fighting incipient fascism in the American educational world, *The Social Frontier* promises to perform a valuable revolutionary service. But this is not all. Though its editors may find themselves unable to go all the way with Marx, still they do go so far that many of its readers will be led to the point where they must perforce go on to the full Marxist position. For these positive virtues, then, the revolutionist will heartily wish that this new journal, despite its shortcomings, might be read by every teacher in the land.

# WHITE COLLAR SLAVE MARKET

By AL X.

Your correspondent wishes to report on the white-collar slave market in the New York Metropolitan district.

The real low-down, according to the last issue of "Current Conditions," published by the National Employment Exchange, 30 Church St., New York City, is as follows:

The first six months of 1934 showed some increase in demand for employees over 1933, but "the actual demand was only 17.7 per cent of the average for like periods of 1925-26-27."

"Evidence is growing," comments this publication, "that depression adjustments with respect to office staffs have largely been completed and that the re-employing by individual organizations of such of their released personnel as can be used in their present altered setups, has gone about as far as it may be expected to go. Current hirings are still cautious, with the duration of offered employment usually on a depending-on-business basis. The preponderance of engagements is in the 19 to 30 year age brackets within which candidates are old enough to have gained some usable office technique and still young enough to be adapted profitably into personnel structures being rebuilt for the future."

"Adapted profitably" would read more correctly "exploited profitably."—Al X.)

As to supply there has been an average of 35 applicants for every job offered this year. This compares with two applicants for every job in April, 1929—the peak of prosperity.

While the average hiring salary shows an index number of 95 compared with 100 for the averages for 1925-26-27, the employee demand is far behind, the present index number being only 20, as against 100 for the period 1925-26-27.

The table of wage-scales shows most of the jobs open paying be-

tween \$15 and \$25 a week. There is a sprinkling of better-paid positions, but these are among professional or highly-specialized classifications. There is reported a scarcity of certain types of workers, but examination of the classifications and the corresponding wages offered indicates that the scarcity is one of trained, experienced workers at office-boy salaries.

P. S. Wall Street has just cut wages. The New York Stock Exchange has cut 1000 of its 1500 workers to the extent of 10%. The minimum salary for single men is \$17.50 a week. The 50¢ is to keep their collars nice and clean.

# COMRADES, MY COMRADES!

**B**ENEATH the web of savage fears,  
Beneath the bloody heel of tyranny,  
You tremble, slaves like leaves  
Upon a shedding autumn tree.  
There you stand like herded sheep  
Branded with the Capitalist seal.  
You! The workers of the world!  
You! The producers of wealth!  
You! The hungered beasts of burden!  
Who have ears and hear not the groans  
Of your women whose very wombs shrink with fear  
That children may again crouch within!  
Do you not see the emaciated faces of your off-spring?  
Do you not see the millions of unemployed?  
Are they but phantoms?  
Go on! Bray like asses about prosperity!  
Follow the magical myth of your oppressors!  
YOU! Captive multitudes are driven further  
Into the shrouded tomb of misery.

Comrades! Comrades! Be no longer human dupes.  
Let not merciless ambition of the few  
Drive you to darkness and despair.  
Lift your voices in a mighty roar of protest.  
Let it reverberate thru the earth.  
Clear your eyes of the veiled superstition!  
Listen to the voices of the oppressed!  
Let knowledge be your guide and pride  
Let unity be your strength in the dawn  
Of a workers cooperative commonwealth!

CARMEN LUCIA